

Jews.

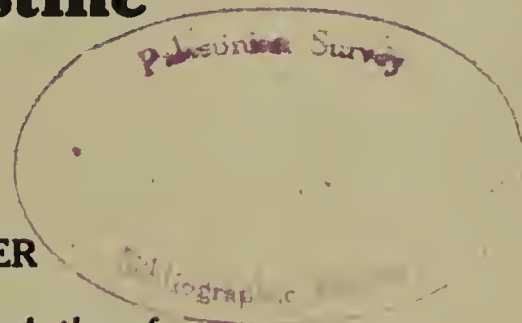
1210

MERCHAVIA

A Jewish Co-operative Settlement in Palestine

By DR. FRANZ OPPENHEIMER

*Lecturer in Economics at the University of Berlin, Author of
"Die Siedlungsgenossenschaft," "Der Staat," etc., etc.*



PUBLISHED BY
THE CO-OPERATIVE SOCIETY EREZ-ISRAEL
and
THE HEAD OFFICE OF THE JEWISH NATIONAL FUND
33, Neumarkt, Cologne
1914

American Branch: THE JEWISH NATIONAL FUND BUREAU FOR AMERICA
142 Henry Street, New York

PRICE, TEN CENTS

MERCHAVIA

A Jewish Co-operative Settlement in Palestine

BY DR. FRANZ OPPENHEIMER

Lecturer in Economics at the University of Berlin, Author of "Die
Siedlungsgenossenschaft," "Der Staat," etc., etc.



Published by
THE CO-OPERATIVE SOCIETY EREZ-ISRAEL
and
THE HEAD OFFICE OF THE JEWISH NATIONAL FUND
33. Neumarkt, Cologne
JEWISH NATIONAL FUND BUREAU FOR AMERICA
142 Henry Street, New York.

1914

COPYRIGHT, 1914, BY THE JEWISH NATIONAL FUND.



Digitized by the Internet Archive
in 2018 with funding from
Columbia University Libraries

<https://archive.org/details/merchaviajewishc00oppe>



DR. FRANZ OPPENHEIMER

P R E F A C E.

Theodor Herzl had many qualities: he was a commanding personality, an excellent politician, a prominent author and a prophet. But there was one thing that he was not, and he knew it quite well: he was no economist. Like all great leaders of the masses, however, he knew how to choose his colleagues, and as early as 1902 he honored me with an invitation to co-operate in his great movement, as I was then, I believe, the only economist who had occupied himself *ex officio* with problems of settlement. At a meeting that took place between us in December, 1902, I frankly declared to Dr. Herzl that his views about the possibility of the colonization of Palestine in the way he proposed were impracticable. I told him that it was impossible for a national immigration to be organized, as it were, by storm, even if there were the largest funds available; that there was nobody in the world who could transport such a mass of people without friction; and that the least friction, the least hitch in the carefully worked-out plan, must involve the immigrants in a calamity, for the effects of which nobody could bear the moral responsibility. Dr. Herzl immediately saw this and asked me to undertake the planning and execution of the economic part of his scheme, with the words: "As you understand something of these matters you are morally bound to place your knowledge at the service of the people and of the great cause."

At that time I had no relations with the Zionist movement, but I soon became a convinced adherent, and at the Basle Congress in 1903 I read a paper in which I outlined the process of colonization. During the next few years various negotiations took place between Herzl and myself. Shortly before his death we met in Vienna, and it was almost half agreed that an Experiment Station should be founded in Europe, if possible in Galicia, a country farm conducted upon a co-operative basis, where experiences could be gathered and where the laborers should be trained who would then go out as pioneers to Palestine. But before all these plans could be carried through Herzl died in the summer of 1904. Then came a long interval in the work of settlement. The men at the head of the movement had their hands full with internal difficulties, and there was really nobody among them who had the cause of co-operative colonization, as I had planned it, at heart. On the contrary, there was a great deal of opposition which checked all progress in the matter. I therefore held aloof for several years until I was called back upon the scene by necessity.

It had become clear that colonization upon any other basis than that which I had proposed was as good as impossible. The National Fund had purchased large tracts of land, but, for lack of Jewish settlers, had to lease them to Arabs, as it could not allow them to lie fallow without risking the right of reversion prescribed by Turkish law. There was no other possibility of nationalizing these tracts with Jewish labor except by handing them over partly to communistic groups of laborers, who cultivated them and shared the proceeds of the farmstead. But these farmsteads were very primitive: however able the laborers in these groups were, they lacked the knowledge of agricultural science, and these Marxists reared in the school of the Russian Revolution were altogether too keen theoreticians to place themselves under an administrator. There were, nevertheless, labor leaders, strange to say, who, after the movement had come to a

PREFACE

standstill, brought it again into motion, namely, the leaders of the Poale-Zion in Austria. They recognized that if the Jewish land could ever again become nationalized by the toil of Jewish laborers, it could only be done in accordance with my proposals, that highly developed, intensive, and properly cultivated estates should be founded with co-operative labor in Palestine. It was owing to their indefatigable agitation that the Congresses at the Hague and Hamburg decided to take up the work of co-operative settlement again, a decision that was all the easier to carry out as the original opposition, thanks to the experience gathered in the meantime, had given way very considerably. The same leaders of the Poale Zion compelled me to emerge from my retirement, and at the Hamburg Congress, in December, 1909, I submitted a report which was received with the greatest enthusiasm. In the spring of 1910 I went to Palestine to study the conditions on the spot, and returned with the conviction that the work was bound up with difficulties, but that it could be carried out. I then undertook a lecturing tour on behalf of this scheme in Germany and Austria, which aroused considerable enthusiasm, secured the Co-operative Settlement Fund, and led to the establishment of the "Erez Israel" Settlement Association, with an initial capital of 120,000 marks, a third of which had already been subscribed by the delegates of the Congress.

In the following spring, the agricultural expert, Mr. Dyk, who had been appointed manager of the Co-operative Estate, went to Palestine, but found the situation there full of difficulties. The laborers, owing to their theoretical prepossessions, were for the most part opposed to any sort of administrative management. Moreover, it became clear that I had not been reliably informed by the local experts on the question of cost and the scope of the necessary farm-premises: these demanded considerably higher funds than could originally be estimated; and the provision of the necessary implements, owing to the backward conditions of transport, also amounted to more than was foreseen. In addition, there were the war troubles which excited the population, paralyzed the entire administrative activity in the country, and led to many unpleasant developments. Nevertheless, Mr. Dyk and the laborers who gradually joined him held bravely on, and when I paid my second visit to Palestine in the spring of 1913, of which an account is given in this brochure, I at least found hopeful conditions, although one cannot say that the prosperity of the settlement is to-day already absolutely assured. That this will depend mainly upon the political conditions, and also upon whether the requisite new funds are obtained. Owing to the reasons just explained the estimated money requirements proved too little; and it is therefore absolutely necessary to raise a further big round sum, especially as it has proved to be very desirable that the Co-operative Settlement Company should take over and organize several other estates, which have until now been managed by free communistic groups.

Of all the methods that offer themselves theoretically for populating the ancient Jewish land with Jewish peasants, that which I propose is perhaps the only practicable one; at any rate it is the only method by which one could successfully achieve colonization upon a large scale.

Whoever approves of this great work, whoever desires it, can contribute his share to enable it to be so realized. The pioneers in the land are sacrificing their blood and their life; let the Jews all over the world at least contribute their mite to the cause.

FRANZ OPPENHEIMER.

Berlin, Chanukah, 5674, December 25, 1913.

PART I.

THE SETTLEMENT IN PRINCIPLE

There were two main questions that seemed to me to require a satisfactory answer before we could expect a successful undertaking in Palestine:

First: Is the land technically suitable for intensive, modern cultivation?

Secondly: Is the Jewish laborer, as he is now found in Palestine, physically and above all, intellectually suitable for a co-operative farm?

I think I can answer both of these questions in the absolute affirmative.

1.—THE QUESTION OF AGRICULTURAL METHOD.

Agricultural science in Palestine fluctuates between two possible extremes. Fruit culture, as it prevails in most parts of Judaea, is being fostered by a maximum of capital and, to a certain extent, of labor. In the orange-groves, for example, 10,000 to 12,000 francs are invested on an average per hectare; the product is a highly-bred fruit, which, partly because of its early crops, partly because of its unusually fine taste, occupies the premier position in the international orange-market and attains the highest prices. Despite the heavy cost of irrigation and working and the high rate of interest and amortization, orchards, according to the opinion of all experts whom I have consulted, produce, when the prices are middling, a profit of between 12 to 15 per cent.

On the other hand, agriculture, as it prevails in the Jewish colonies of Galilee, occupies almost the lowest stage of intensity of capital and labor as well as of modern science. The Galilean peasants have, in relation to the considerable size of their estates (25-35 hectares on the average), a very slight capital in money, implements and teams, and their methods leave very much to be desired. The Galilean peasant is not even a real peasant, let alone a modern farmer. His technical methods hardly differ from those of the Arab, apart from the use of a few slightly better European farming implements. Above all, he has not yet understood that the main importance of every cottage-farm must be based upon cattle-rearing, as in the breeding of animals of all kinds, horses, oxen, poultry, the big farm cannot compete with the cottage farm, because the care and affection required in the work cannot be obtained from day-laborers.

Hence the Palestinian cottage-farm must be based more upon cattle-rearing, and particularly because the exhausted soil only needs manuring to produce comparatively large crops at the same cost otherwise. The wide-spread belief that the Jews cannot engage in cattle-rearing must be refuted by successful activity. If I may be permitted a jest that I made in one of my lectures in Palestine: it is perhaps true that the anti-Semites are oxen, but it seems incredible that the ox is anti-Semitic. The cattle-raising of the German peasants in the Palestinian colonies proves that the land is thoroughly suitable for this: in the year 1909, 170,000 litres of milk from 120 cows were delivered into the dairy at Sarona, so that, after taking into account the heavy domestic consumption, we may reckon a milk-yield of 1,400 to 1,500 litres per cow. The best shed of eight cows

produced 1,698 litres per cow. These are results that can be considered as the basis of a respectable profit, as they are produced not by farms exclusively devoted to milking, but by the common dairy-farms of peasants who rear their calves themselves.

To conduct dairy farming with success one requires first, sufficient fodder, and secondly, adequate prices for the milk products or the cattle bred. As regards the fodder question, which is advanced by those who know the land as the weightiest argument against a rational system of cattle-raising, a closer consideration at once shows that there is little reason for fear on this ground. True, the land between the spring and autumn rains is dry steppe and produces no fodder. But in comparison with the North, it simply means a transference of the unfruitful period of the year from winter to summer. In Germany, too, the soil does not yield any fodder for many months. On the whole, it would be necessary to supply the stables in Palestine with fodder from the granaries a few weeks less than in Germany.

As regards the prices, it is clear that the production of fresh milk has a quantitative limit in the demand of the few thinly populated towns. If the immigration of urban settlers does not greatly increase, the milk-market of Haifa could be completely upset by the addition of a few hundred cows. But these are considerations that are at present of no weight. The milk-prices are at present very high and promise a good profit. The milk-price in Haifa hardly ever falls below 30 centimes per litre, and in the dry months it amounts to 50 or 60 centimes. As our farmers, with a much higher cost for the dear land, the larger buildings, the much higher wages, etc., still obtain at a price of 13 centimes per litre from the stables an adequate profit, a high profit can certainly be reckoned upon with such high market-prices for the first milk-producing concern in Palestine if the farm lies as near to the market as Merchavia.

Should the colonization further expand, one will not have to reckon with such high prices, nor will one need to do so. Then, instead of milk, one will have to prepare milk-products, butter and cheese, for which there is an endless demand in Egypt. To-day the more well-to-do families, to a large extent, buy Milan butter in sterilized boxes at very high prices, and it will be possible to compete with this.

The soil has been systematically plundered for centuries. The Arab does not manure on principle, not because of indolence or ignorance, but as a logical consequence of the pernicious system of land-ownership that prevails here. The village landmark is divided anew every two years among those who are entitled to it; naturally, nobody manures a plot upon which next year probably not he but somebody else—perhaps his enemy—will reap. Instead of this the manure is partly burned as a substitute for firewood that is so scarce in this country, and is partly heaped up into regular mountains. According to the state of the fields and the statements of experts the Arab average of corn-produce must amount to 800 to 900 kilograms per hectare: a yield that corresponds to small German cottage-culture, but in which, thanks to a comparatively good number of cattle, the soil receives tolerable quantities of dung. But where sufficient manure is applied the fields produce the Arabic yield many times over. For example, in Kinereth there is a barley-field, a part of which Mr. Beerman had manured with as much dung as he had at his disposal. The dividing-line seemed to have been drawn by a measure, and we estimated that the corn-produce of the manured portion would be at least two and a half times as much, probably above three times as much as that of the unmanured portion.

How far it will be possible to substitute artificial manure for stable-dung remains to be seen. In any case one can say, as the result of experiments, that the soil is capable of working up the manure-stuffs. This will form one of the most important tasks for the Experiment Station to solve, and we can already hope that the productivity of field-farming will be considerably increased from this quarter. In short, and in this all experts are agreed, a considerable intensification and modernization of agriculture is just as possible in Palestine as anywhere else.

II.—THE LABOR QUESTION

The labor question may be divided into two parts: Is the Jewish laborer adapted for agriculture, and is he intellectually adapted for a co-operative enterprise?

As regards the physical capacity, there can be no doubt that the requisite stock of suitable laborers not only for one experiment but for a great number of experiments is already available in Palestine, and a fresh supply can be drawn from the native lands of the Palestinian settlers for further requirements. I have seen the young people engaged in the hardest kind of agricultural labor, hoeing with the heavy planting-hoe, an implement that requires the greatest physical strength and endurance, and I have not noticed the least sign of physical strain or exhaustion. I have seen the laborers of Kinereth bathing in the Sea of Tiberias, observed with what strength and dexterity they wheeled their horses about in the water, and admired with genuine pride their magnificent figures, living statues of perfect form and the toughest muscular power. And they are almost all young people formerly engaged in sedentary occupations: former clerks, artisans, university men, teachers, etc. Here the iron will to attain the national goal has worked wonders. Besides them there will gradually grow up a young generation of rustic children born in the land itself, who represent quite a different race. Of the children that I saw only the proletariat children of Petach Tikvah were inferior in appearance and health, owing to severe eye-affections: they were almost exclusively foreign-born children of poor immigrants. The children born in the country were without exception magnificent creatures. One can see from their appearance that they are the children of the leading race in the land: they "stride," to use an expression of Freytag's, "with lordly tread over their own land," their clear eyes look straight ahead, free, open, and brave, and their figures are as graceful as they are strong. I saw a little boy on a barebacked horse chasing through the streets of Rechoboth, clinging to its neck only with his naked legs, whilst he merrily waved his arms in the air; and I saw a colonist's son in Petach Tikvah, a young man of twenty-two, six feet tall, correspondingly broad and apparently as strong as a giant, a real peasant, one of the finest men I have ever seen. The race that is growing up here certainly affords material for a future national settlement, and it will not lack the physical and intellectual qualities demanded by frontier-life in Palestine: courage and swift determination. In all these respects, therefore, the conditions for a first and many a succeeding co-operative settlement are positively given.

Those who know the land had no doubt of this. But we repeatedly encountered the opinion that the Jewish laborer as an individualist "of the purest water" is not fit for a co-operative undertaking. I must, however, point out that the Co-operative Settlement, such as I project, allows every single individual the fullest possible play of free activity,

and in order to prove this I shall again describe the plan in greater detail than has hitherto been attempted.

III.—THE SETTLEMENT OF THE LABORING CLASSES

What the Zionist Organization has to aim at is to lay down in Palestine as soon as possible a populous and thriving agrarian foundation, in order to build up thereon a superstructure as high as possible of industrial and professional activity. "He who wishes to create cities must create peasants." For the agrarian settlement there are two possible strata of immigrants: a small stratum extending from the well-to-do to the rich, and a large proletarian stratum. The Palestinian Land Development Company has been founded for the former, with which we are not here concerned.

Much more important is the settlement of the moneyless class, and for many reasons. In the first place, the stream of emigration of this class from the various countries gushes forth much more strongly, and it is both absolutely and relatively much more voluminous; secondly, its need is most acute and it cannot help itself; and thirdly, its settlement provides the only sure guarantee of a nationalization of the land. In whatever country there has been a conflict of nationalities the settlement of well-to-do big landowners has proved a failure, as, for example, in Poland. They are always and everywhere compelled to employ the cheapest labor, and he is hardly ever a co-national. Similarly in Judaea, for all kinds of work that demands only rude strength and a certain professional skill, but little intelligence, the Jewish landowners employ many Arabs but few Jews. But in the long run the cheaper laborer everywhere drives out the dearer one from the country, exactly in accordance with Gresham's law that bad money drives good money out of the country.

How, then, colonize proletarian elements? Baron Edmond de Rothschild and the Jewish Colonization Association have for a long time made experiments in the colonization of peasants in the two possible forms of giving them either their own property or a hereditary or partial lease. These attempts are not to be described as failures; on the contrary, notable results have recently manifested themselves since the unhappy charity regime, which breaks the backbone of every man, has come to an end. But there are objections to the system itself, and these are all the more serious in the case of Palestine and Jewish settlers.

The objection to the settlement of peasants in itself consists in the fact that, in order to secure a family a definite income, it requires a comparatively large area per head, because the peasant almost everywhere is backward in the use of modern appliances. He is a slave to an evil empiricism and conservatism, and shows the greatest hesitation in adopting the successful results of technology and science, the profitable advantages of which are ocularly demonstrated to him by large thriving estates in the neighborhood.

But the objections to peasant colonization in Palestine are much stronger. The land is small and is to be populated as densely as possible: for this very reason a form of settlement should be chosen that permits almost any degree of density of the population, even of the agrarian, upon a given surface. Furthermore, the farm laborers in Palestine are at the best to be characterized as capable farm-laborers, but by no means as peasants. Hence the objection is all the stronger in the case of the new immigrants,

who have to be reckoned with for the continuation of the colonization, as they are not even farm-laborers yet, but wish to become such. To settle such untrained elements as peasants, as the Jewish Colonization Association did to a large extent originally, for example, in Argentine, is an utter mistake.

What we urgently require, therefore, is an undertaking in which physically able-bodied but agriculturally untrained men are able to apply their labor without being compelled to manage independently—an undertaking in which they are initiated in the shortest possible time, first, into the technical methods of their new vocation, and later into the necessary knowledge of the conditions of cattle-raising and agriculture—in short, a training school. But this school must not cost anything: it must yield a profit. It can therefore only be a big farm placed under such conditions as guarantee the highest profit.

The conditions are of two kinds: first, it must be a sufficiently large farm equipped with fully adequate capital and situated in a not too unfavorable commercial locality, which is conducted by an experienced specialist with all the latest improvements of modern agriculture and applied science. That such a concern can be made to produce a high rate of profit in Palestine within a measurable space of time is a matter that I have already proved. Secondly, we have to reckon, (not in the first experiment, in which we may count upon trained laborers, but in later experiments, where a part of the stock of laborers will always consist of "recruits" who must be drawn upon) with a body of laborers of inferior worth who will reduce the profit, as their remuneration, however moderate it may be, will at first exceed the value of their labor. But we require a profit that far exceeds that yielded by fully trained laborers, and this is a condition that is no larger fulfilled in ancient civilised countries by the normal big concern even of the highest technical perfection. Its employees could indeed produce, but do not wish to produce the corresponding amount of labor. They have no motive to render the maximum of strength and attention in the interest of a stranger, and thus the profit-earning of the big estates, despite their immeasurable technical superiority over the peasant's, always sinks more and more below the profit-earning of the latter.

That is why, in our Co-operative Settlement, we must also create the second, the psychological condition of profit-earning. We must bring into play the motor-power of self-interest and then, according to all the experiences of economic history, we shall have the well-founded prospect of richly compensating through the good will of the laborers what is expended upon them in technical training. That is, our technically improved big concern must at the same time be an Agricultural Laborers' Productive Co-operative Association, that is, a concern whose entire net profit is distributed undiminished among all the laborers in the widest sense of the term, including the managing official. But this aim cannot be attained at a single bound. It requires a preparatory period, that of a concern which is capitalistic in form, but which, in its economic structure, is already a co-operative association: that is, a concern with a considerable element of profit-sharing among the laborers.

FIRST STAGE: PARTICIPATION IN THE PROFITS

We thus inevitably arrive at the following plan:

A big farm is established with the necessary buildings and well, sufficient live stock and dead inventory are procured, a capable administrator is appointed, and a group of

laborers are engaged who carry on the concern under his leadership. The laborers are subject to the usual discipline, i. e., the leader has, as a matter of principle, the right of punishment and dismissal. But the endeavor will be made from the very start, in accordance with the spirit of the whole thing, to make the laborers their own judges. At first the administrator should have the right, though not the duty, to submit cases of insubordination to a Board of Arbitration chosen absolutely impartially by the laborers themselves. If this arrangement proves satisfactory, this Board could be endowed with ever increasing powers. In the same way a technical Consulting Board of the laborers should gradually be developed to an increasing degree of authority, i. e., the administration should at first have the right, and, if the arrangement proves satisfactory, afterwards be bound to confer ever more and more with the Consulting Board regarding the arrangements for the immediate future. This Board will have the function of allotting the different pieces of work among the members of the Settlement, and later perhaps of determining the differences of wages. Justice and profit-earning demand that laborers of very different capacity should also be differently remunerated; if the fixing of these grades were reserved for the administration bitterness and strife would ensue.

The income of the undertaking during this period of profit-sharing should be so divided that all the expenses including loss and wear-and-tear should first be covered. These expenses principally comprise the wages. The laborers receive in good and in bad years the full wage current in the land. The surplus will be divided between the owners of the land and of the inventory on one side and the laborers on the other side, according to a sliding scale; and the higher the interest assigned to the capital the larger should the share of the laborers in the profits be. The ultimate aim is as follows: the National Fund, which runs no risk, should receive 3 percent. on its total outlay, the Co-operative Settlement Fund, which runs every risk, should receive 4 percent., and in addition one-fourth of the then remaining net profit. The other three-fourths should be given to the laborers, and should be paid to them in cash in proportion to their wages. Let us assume that the total wages-bill amounted to 20,000 francs, and the entire profit, after paying off the interest on the capital, to 8,000 francs. The Settlement Fund then receives 2,000 francs besides 4 percent. interest, and the laborers 6,000 francs; and the latter sum will be so divided that a laborer who has earned 250 francs—perhaps because he joined later or, being a recruit, was placed on a lower scale—receives 75 francs, a pioneer worker who has earned 75 francs receives 250 francs, and the administrator, whose salary may be put at 3,000 francs, receives a bonus of 1,000 francs.

A double advantage is attained by this mode of division: first, the care and industry of those laborers is most vigorously stimulated whose work is most important for the general result; and secondly, the method allows the administration the utmost freedom to apply all systems of remuneration that are customary and have been tried in agriculture besides the daily wage, such as piece-work wages, a share of the profits, premiums, e. g., for the cow-milkers, etc. When the group of laborers who mow according to contract, or the milkman who receives milk premiums, know that their efforts will be rewarded not only by the contract-wage and the premium, but also by their respective share in the profits, they will exercise double the amount of industry and care, and this is of enormous importance in regard to the work done by contract, as the contract can only secure the quantity and not the quality of labor.

The provision that the share of the profits should be paid out at once, without any part being kept back for the objects of the laborers themselves, is in accordance with the experience of economic history and with the character of the Jewish laborer himself. As regards the first point, it has been found that the influence of the profit-sharing upon the general result is all the more powerful, the simpler the system is, the higher the share of the laborers, and the sooner it is paid out. This experience must restrain us from resorting to all the petty devices of patriarchal guardianship, such as the compulsory accumulation of the profits of a savings bank for the benefit of the participating parties, etc.; and above all, the character and the socialistic class-consciousness of the Palestinian Jewish laborer forbid such a procedure. They are free men, and they wish to be and should be treated as such, as indeed the supreme principle of the entire co-operation must be that the liberty of decision of the laborers must be preserved undiminished in all things that do not affect the vital interest of the concern.

In order to stimulate the self-interest of the laborers in the undertaking at the beginning, when unforeseen difficulties are to be overcome and the laborers have to be accustomed first technically, and then in organization respects, to the new form of enterprise, they should also receive a share in the profit, though of course of smaller amount, if the capital cannot receive the maximum profit. The details of this arrangement can be fixed by negotiation.

SECOND STAGE: THE AGRICULTURAL LABORERS' PRODUCTIVE CO-OPERATIVE ASSOCIATION

According to the estimate of the profit-sharing stated above, the hope appears justified that in the course of a few years, the laborers will have accumulated from their profits a sum of money large enough to pay the purchase-price for the inventory as originally fixed in the agreement made with them by the Co-operative Settlement Fund. It will not be necessary to demand in cash the total book-value of the inventory. One will have to be content with a part, if a guarantee can be given for the balance which should be paid at reasonable intervals. This guarantee could be provided by substantial private individuals or by the Anglo-Palestine Company, or, in this way, which is simplest of all, that a treasurer appointed by the Bank, but paid, of course, by the Co-operative Settlement, should take in hand the entire finances of the Settlement and have the duty of deducting the interest and the debt and remitting them to the creditor. In years of distress a suitable respite would naturally be possible.

Let us assume that the business is settled and that the stipulated sum has been paid over. The legal construction of the concern then changes considerably. Until now there were three legal parties interested: the National Fund, as owner of the land and of the improvement intimately connected with it, was the lessor; the Co-operative Settlement Fund, as owner of the inventory and of the working capital, was the lessee; and the laborers' association was the contractor of the agreement which guaranteed it a share in the profits and the rights of taking possession. The Co-operative Settlement Fund is now eliminated. Its demand for its capital has been satisfied or covered, and it will transfer its fund to another territory to repeat the same experiment, but now under much more favorable conditions.

There only remain two parties: the National Fund as lessor, and the laborers' association as independent and self-responsible lessee. The latter has developed into a

genuine Agricultural Laborers' Productive Co-operative Association. As such it bears the entire responsibility, but in return it also enjoys all the prospects, i. e., it has to content itself in bad years with smaller earnings than hitherto, and can also do so now as it has in the preceding period accumulated a respectable fortune upon which it can draw in extreme necessity. On the other hand, in good years it receives the entire net profit.

As an Agricultural Laborers' Productive Co-operative Association, the laborers have to govern themselves so far as there are no stipulations in their lease against this. But these stipulations will simply be confined to the guaranteeing of the payment of interest, the sanitary, moral and trade regulations that are indispensable in all such settlements of collective utility, and finally, the provision that one-fifth of the entire land area should not be disposed of by hereditary lease if the Co-operative Association should decide to divide the land among its members into hereditary leasehold-plots, i. e., to convert itself from an Agricultural "Productive Co-operative Association" into an Agricultural "Producers' Co-operative Association." The laborers should be allowed to do this too, as indeed everything that does not fall among the above-mentioned points. The sole measure that would render the social aim of the undertaking entirely abortive they are unable to carry out, namely, the division of the entire land among the members according to Roman property law: for the ownership belongs to and remains with the National Fund. But every other mistake that is committed can be rectified and will be rectified when its consequences show themselves. Thus, the laborers may dismiss their administrator if they cannot get on with him; they may even try to produce without such a scientifically trained leader. If they find from their earnings that the experiment is very dear they will, in their own interest, not hesitate long to retrace their steps. In short, they run the concern at their own risk from the moment that their errors affect not a stranger's pocket, but their own.

But it is a "conditio sine qua non" that in the event of the division of the land about a fifth of the entire area must not be disposed of upon hereditary lease. The Co-operative Association can either turn it to account collectively, or rent it on not too long a lease, say from one to eighteen years, but in any case in such a way that they can have a portion of this area at their free disposal at any given moment. For in the event of the dividing up of the remaining land, this fifth is indispensable to let the Co-operative Association take the last and most important step—to the Co-operative Settlement Association.

THIRD STAGE: CO-OPERATIVE SETTLEMENT ASSOCIATION

The Co-operative Settlement Association is not identical with the Laborers' Productive Co-operative Association but represents the highest conceivable form of co-operative settlement: it can be developed best and most easily from the agricultural settlement, but under favorable conditions it could be established immediately as an urban settlement, as a garden city of a higher grade. But I cannot discuss this further here.

The Co-operative Settlement Association is a mixed community, composed of farmers, artisans, dealers and members of liberal professions, even of persons of independent means, which is not distinguished from any other community in the world except by the fact that the land belongs not to individuals but to the community. Hence arise the most important consequences.

Wherever an agricultural farm is in the immediate neighborhood of such a mixed

settlement, there, in the ordinary conditions, the income of the proprietor increases and hence the value of his land. The same applies in a greater degree to urban building-land. But when the land is owned by the community the increased income can only benefit the community as a whole, i. e., all its members, so that in the settlement the income of every average laborer must proportionately increase as there is no private land-ownership to demand the increment for itself.

In order to make clear this necessary result of the Agricultural Laborers' Productive Co-operative Association a few of the advantages may be mentioned here which it derives from the settlement of non-agricultural elements upon its own soil. For example, if it exchanges its corn for a plough from a smith settled in its midst, it receives the Haifa market-price for its wheat, but has no cost of transportation to deduct therefrom, and it receives the plough at the Jaffa market-price but has no cost of transportation to add to it. The smith has exactly the same advantages: for he would have to buy his corn in Jaffa and have it carried at his expense to his house, and he would have to sell his plough in Jaffa but transport it thither at his own expense.

The second advantage is that the more the products of the land are consumed on the spot the more is the calcium phosphate derived therefrom restored to it in the form of manure.

The third advantage is that the presence of numerous non-farmers affords the Association the possibility of drawing upon cheap assistance in times when there is a big demand for laborers. The artisans and gardeners themselves and their wives and children will be quite willing to assist in the harvest-labor in return for a high wage, and naturally for a corresponding share in the profits; and yet this high wage will prove cheaper for the Association than if it were compelled to hire outside laborers for a long time at lower wages.

The fourth advantage is that all these non-agricultural new settlers help to bear the burden of the entire rent and strengthen all the subsidiary co-operative societies, e. g., for general goods, loans, building, cattle-insurance, etc., etc., and thus make them more productive and profitable. For these most important developments, which greatly increase the profit-bearing capacity of all the concerns united there, there must in any case be land available: hence the stipulation concerning the fifth to be left free in the event of the land being divided up.

The relation of the new settlers to the Co-operative Association and the National Fund is regarded in the following light: the Laborers' Productive Association, or the Co-operative Association Fund, surrenders a part of its lease to the new settlers. They form collectively a Property Co-operative Association, which is responsible to the National Fund for the payment of the entire rent. The new settler will thus be not a sub-tenant, but an independent tenant, and the same holds good for such farmers, peasants, and gardeners, who wish to settle independently on the land. Hence with every new settler the leasable land of the central concern diminishes, and its rent-obligation lessens in corresponding measure.

To anticipate here, I have often been met with the "objection" that in this way a moment must ultimately come when the central concern will no longer have enough land to keep its undertaking going. It may therefore be observed that it will probably always be possible to acquire in the immediate vicinity of the first estate sufficient

new land upon which to place urban settlers "en masse." But if this should not be possible, then, should this "apprehension" be realized, the highest ideal would have been attained that the Settlement could aim at. We should thus have a relatively very populous and thriving city with a population of several thousand souls, and I do not see how anybody can be afraid of this who wishes the settlement of numerous Jewish artisans with small means in Palestine.

But if this should come to pass, then, on the other hand, the real object of our first experiment would be attained in the fullest measure: the creation of a "credit basis." In the meantime the period will long have passed in which the capitalist diffidently refrains from taking part in this enterprise, and dozens, perhaps hundreds of new settlements have arisen which now undergo the same beneficent course of development—probably, as a result of the experiences gathered, with greater rapidity and smoothness—that has brought the first experiment so far. The National Fund receives its interest as first creditor of a populous and well-to-do town with much greater security than before; the Co-operative Settlement Fund, strengthened many times over, works upon numerous other estates; and the first laborers, the pioneers, have in the meantime long become well-to-do peasants or gardeners or retired gentlemen living on their income. I therefore look forward to this development with more than mere tranquility. Nothing could afford me greater joy than this "objection" which supposes my greatest hopes to be realized.

Let us now return to the normal course of things, such as one may expect without being scolded as a Utopian.

IV. FORMS OF SETTLEMENT

This settlement of independent elements should comprise—and it is here that I find the greatest advantage of the organization in its thus allowing absolutely free play to every individualist endeavor—not only such artisans, dealers, professional men, persons of independent means, gardeners, and farmers, as migrate hither after the establishment of the Co-operative Association, but also all those first members of the Association who wish to be independent.

As soon as it has become evident beyond all doubt that the undertaking will be of permanent duration, it should be free for every laborer to attain more or less independence in one of the following three forms, according to his choice. We shall begin on principle only with unmarried laborers, as we cannot bear the responsibility for the fate of a family until the success of the scheme is quite assured; but as soon as all doubt on this point has vanished we shall encourage our laborers to marry. It is here, it may be observed in parenthesis, that the most difficult point of the entire colonization lies. If there are already some peasants in Palestine, there are hardly any peasant women; and without a wife the peasant is lost. The number of peasant women in Palestine at present is very small, and this dearth seems to me the principal reason why we cannot reckon for the present upon the success of a single-cottage settlement upon a large scale. It also seems to me a decisive advantage of the system proposed by me that it renders possible the settlement of numerous peasants without their being married to peasant women.

The laborer can choose between the following three possibilities:

First: he continues as laborer of the central concern, or as member of the Co-operative Association; he lives either in the main building, in a small dwelling of two or three rooms prepared for him, which his wife manages for him; he can leave the Cooking Association or let his wife join it, exactly as he pleases. If the wife wishes to participate as a profit-sharing laborer or member in the central concern in return for a suitable wage, she is free to do so; but if she does not wish it or cannot, she need not.

Secondly: The laborer remains likewise a profit-sharing laborer of the central concern, or member of the Co-operative Association; but he also takes about ten dunam ($2\frac{1}{2}$ acres) of land on a hereditary lease, builds upon it out of his own means or with the aid of a loan from the Co-operative Loan Society a cottage with a little stable, and manages the little estate with the help of his wife in his leisure hours, which can be increased now and again by a day's leave. He can grow fully as much corn and fodder and vegetables as he needs for his little household.

He receives the money for the house and inventory not from an outside organization but simply from the Co-operative Loan Society of his own comrades, who will only grant it to him if he enjoys their credit as an able and respectable workman. The National Fund and the Co-operative Settlement Fund will never, on principle, lend an individual a penny, but always only to co-operative societies against a joint guarantee. In this way losses are practically impossible; the control exercised by comrades on the spot is the most exact and jealous conceivable; secondly, the possibility of alms-giving, with its pernicious effects upon economy, is utterly avoided, as the debtor owes the money not to a distant, perhaps impersonal big purse, whose interests are quite indifferent to him, but to his own fellow-workers and comrades, upon whose respect his whole position rests, whose interest is fully identical with his own, and whose ill-will can do him an endless amount of damage.

To return to our second form of settlement, the colonist has the right, but not the obligation, to have his land ploughed, harrowed, and rolled at cost-price by the central concern, so that he can dispense with a team and agricultural implements of his own. He has then only to manure, to hoe, and to reap; work that can easily be done in a few leisure hours.

The same right is enjoyed by the colonist of the third form.

Thirdly: The laborer retires from the central concern and receives no further wage or share in the profits, apart from the wage and profit-share for occasional help for which he is engaged by mutual agreement. He also receives 10 dunam upon a hereditary lease, and in addition another 30 to 40 dunam upon a long lease, say for about 18 years, with the right of renewing the lease upon the same terms after its relapse, in case the Co-operative Association is not in urgent need of it for the settlement of urban elements or of gardeners.

He builds his house and farm-premises out of his own means or under the same conditions as in No. 2, with a loan of the Co-operative Loan Society, and is from this moment a fully independent farmer, who cultivates his land at his own risk as he considers proper. He has the right to join all the subsidiary co-operative societies—for general goods, loans, insurance, sales, breeding, purchases, etc., etc.—as a fully qualified member.

The mere fact that the possibility is conceded of retiring from the central concern

at any moment and becoming independent will keep the Co-operative Association firmly united together. It is an old experience that one regards as desirable the very thing one is not allowed to do. This is also likely to be the case with our Jewish laborers, who, as individualists incarnate, have the strongest inclination to do that which is forbidden them. Here they are expressly permitted to retire, without anybody being in the least displeased with them, and for this very reason they will probably dispense with their right.

It is nevertheless likely to occur once that one of the members of the Association cannot agree with the administrator or with his comrades; or that he considers himself quite exceptionally able and much cleverer than the administrator; or that, because of his fully justifiable individualism, he actually prefers as a completely independent farmer to earn less than a comrade subjected to discipline. He will demand his allotment of land and receive it without further ado, and he will naturally exert himself to the utmost to show his former comrades that he did right: he will work much harder than they.

The experiment will decide upon the further form of the Association. The other members will look on very attentively to see what develops. If the retired member actually obtains a "plus" of income corresponding to his more intensive labor they will imitate him. Well, let them imitate him! We shall then have a proof of what is regarded as probable by some experts, namely, that the advantages of co-operative association upon a large scale are outweighed by the more intensive labor of the individual farmer. But if it should prove—and until the matter is decided I consider this far more probable—that the retired member, despite harder work, earns considerably less than his comrades who remained in the Association, the majority will take good care not to follow his example.

It should be added that for the forms 1 and 2 no Jewish peasant woman is necessary, but form 3 can hardly thrive to any degree if the man has not a thoroughly genuine peasant as a wife. And such material, as I have already stated, is hardly to be found in Palestine at present. Only a few wives of the "Gerim," the Judaized Russians, bring such a qualification with them from home; two of their farms that I saw were much superior to those of the Jewish peasants. For this reason alone most of the laborers or members will be prevented from choosing the third form. My personal hope is that the second form will become the dominant one, because it permits a much denser population than the third.

It may be added that one of the most important tasks of Zionist work in future is the training of Jewish girls to become capable peasants' wives. An institution for such a purpose would best be situated upon the land of a Co-operative Settlement, to the benefit of the Settlement and to the benefit of the institution. This could be erected upon ample dimensions and hygienic principles upon a plot which it need not buy but simply rent on low terms, whilst its pupils could immediately have social intercourse with the like-minded colonists and opportunity to become acquainted with agricultural work. The Settlement, however, would have a near market for a number of its products, free manure, a few extra hands in very busy times, a reinforcement of its subsidiary co-operative societies, and last, but not least, it would have in the men and women teachers a staff of born leaders and educators of the general body. For all these reasons all philanthropic institutions that do not absolutely, like high schools, etc., belong to the town, should be erected upon the land of the Co-operative Settlements, e. g., orphanages, homes for the blind and cripples, etc.

It will also be very important to establish upon this cheap land and within the co-operative community secondary industrial co-operative societies or also capitalistic industrial concerns. The laborers will nowhere find such absolutely favorable conditions of existence as here upon cheap land, with cheap food-prices, and with the opportunity of joining all possible co-operative societies which further and support the individual in every phase of his economic existence.

I do not agree with the pessimistic views of some of my friends who believe that the Zionist movement stands and falls with the success of the co-operative settlement in Palestine; but nobody who wishes to see and can see, can doubt that it is one of the most important undertakings that are to be carried out. I therefore demand again and again, with all possible seriousness and emphasis, the active support that was promised and which must be given, because those who have promised it seek more in Zionism than the mere gratification of philanthropic dreams or personal ambition.

It is for this reason that I have submitted the principles of the plan in such detail to the Jewish public again. Let it examine it and judge. If the plan is not built up on sound economic calculations, and upon the psychology of the human being in general and of the Jewish laborer in particular, then it deserves no encouragement. But if it rests upon sure foundations the Jewish people can demand that individual Jews should do their duty. We ask for no alms, but we demand credit for an undertaking whose credit basis appears thoroughly solid. We are convinced that we shall be able to pay a respectable interest upon the money placed at our disposal and to refund it quickly. And therefore I repeat again what I said at the Hamburg Congress: I have nothing but contempt for Zionists who make a parade with high-sounding phrases and presume to sacrifice blood and treasure for the future of the people, but who do not even get as far as the edge of their pockets when one demands "treasure," let alone "blood."

People have written to me from all sides that I am a bad "schnorrer." That may be so. I do not even want to be a "schnorrer." I want to place my honorable scientific repute and my gratuitous labor upon the one balance: you place your shillings and dollars upon the other balance.

PART II.

THE SETTLEMENT AT WORK

I. IN TEL-AVIV AND HAIFA

On the 6th of March this year I embarked on the "Buelow" of the North German Lloyd Company at Hamburg, in order to start on my second journey to Palestine via Gibraltar. This route meant a *détour*, and, if you like, a loss of about ten days; but for one who, like myself, is a good sailor and not too much pressed for time, this *détour* and loss of time are urgently to be recommended. One has the great advantage of being able to recuperate in one of the famous first-class floating hotels which have made the firm of Lloyd well-known throughout the world. The voyage was very pleasant; even the notorious Bay of Biscay proved tolerably amiable, so that there were only a few sick on board. We came nearer and nearer to spring: in Gibraltar the first fragrant greetings were brought to us on board, in Algiers the roofs and walls swarmed with dark-violet, creeper-like flowers, and on the Riviera the almond trees were clad in their rosy blossom. In Egypt it was already very hot, and it cost me many a drop of perspiration as in my quiet room in the Savoy Hotel I prepared the two French lectures that I had to give. But the Egyptian press, which is always amiable to foreigners, assured me, probably with not too easy a conscience, that I had spoken an "excellent French." My first lecture was held before the Khedivial Geographical Society, my second in the B'nai B'rith Lodge; and they resulted in securing for the undertaking of the Co-operative Settlement Company some—unfortunately very modest—funds, and, I hope, some friends too.

Unfortunately, the second lecture cost me nearly a week: a case of plague, it was stated, had broken out in Alexandria, and hence all ships coming from this harbor were subjected to a five days' quarantine in Syria. On account of my lecture I had to take a ship that came from Alexandria, and thus I had the doubtful pleasure of having to wait fully four days before Beyrut and Jaffa. The coast of the Promised Land lay before my eyes; I was anxious to get my correspondence which was awaiting me at Haifa, and I was all the more eager as I had sailed from Port Said on my birthday, the loneliest birthday that I have ever experienced. Well, the time passed, and the "medical examination" at length took place: it consisted in our having to pay 26 piasters per head. Our solvency seemed to be regarded as a proof of our being free from disease. At last I was allowed to land in Jaffa.

The blue sea foamed gently against the black chain of rocks as our heavy boat, amid the usual Oriental clamor—or was it perchance song?—of the boatmen, swung its way over the long surf into the harbor. The ancient stones of the quay were still just as damp and slippery as three years ago and probably at the time when the Venetian galleys vomited the Crusaders on to the shore. Black, brown, and white men in fez and burnous, in jacket-suit and "bowler," still jostled their way through rows of shabby sumpter-camels and long-eared grizzled beasts, which blocked the narrow, evil smelling

bazaar-streets of the harbor quarter. And far away the land lay still bathed in the sweet heavy perfume of orange-blossoms. A two-horsed carriage brought me through the jolting main street out to Tel-Aviv—but here there had been a great change.

When I left Jaffa three years ago Tel-Aviv was still an embryo. The centre of the settlement, the Hebrew Gymnasium, was not yet completed, and within its shadow there were still only a few cottages, for the most part not finished. The streets were still deep, irregular sand-gorges, and the front gardens were like bills payable at long sight. Now it is a finished town with clean, broad streets, with well-kept pavements on both sides of well-made carriage roads, the like of which is not to be found in any other small town of the Levant. The houses display for the most part an agreeable blending of the Oriental with the European style; their red-tiled roofs gleam cheerfully in the bright sun of Palestine. With the five hundred pupils of the Hebrew Gymnasium about 2,000 persons must now be living in the 130 houses or so, and there is no limit to the growth to be foreseen. A large, new plot has already been acquired which connects the colony with the beach towards the west; the streets have partly been laid out here already, and the dream of the citizen of the "Vale of Spring," that Jaffa will soon be a suburb of their colony, does not seem to be altogether too bold. How long more, and on the strand of the blue sea there stretches an embankment as in the bathing-resorts of the North Sea; large, imposing hotels swarm with wealthy visitors, who have fled from the heat of Egypt but do not yet venture to return to the cold of Europe, and a stream of gold fructifies the land which very much needs such a Danaean gift. What has here been created externally is astonishing and highly gratifying, and it redounds to the honor of the Zionist movement. The impression that is made upon the Palestine pilgrim in Jaffa by this settlement, and, it may be added, in Haifa by the Technical school, is well calculated to win for it the highest confidence. We can be genuinely grateful to our respected Dr. Ruppin, our "Minister of Unity" in Palestine, for what he has done here in a secondary capacity as a "founder of cities" in the leisure left over from his other occupations as Minister of Finance, of Foreign Affairs, of Education, and of Trade and Commerce.

Tel-Aviv will, so far as one can see, continue to develop magnificently. The vast needs of the East European Jews in respect of settlements have been adequately supplied here, and it seems that care has been taken to avoid in future the errors, perhaps inevitable at the beginning of such undertakings, which are said to be responsible for the outward prosperity of the handsome colony not being accompanied by a corresponding inner welfare. The handing over of urban land to private ownership has produced here too the evil effects that we have to deplore all over the world: a pretty vigorous "land usury," which manifests itself in high rents, especially for single rooms (a hardship that presses especially upon our young unmarried officials), and many other evils of professional land speculation. But the National Fund means to avoid these initial errors in future, and so we may hope that our urban community at the port of Jaffa will soon be as healthy and thriving in social as it already is in architectural respects.

I had only a little time to spare; the boat brought me back to the steamer, and after a smooth sail over the motionless sea our vessel cast anchor the following morning in the harbor of Haifa.

My first visit I naturally paid to the Technical College and the future Jewish settle-

ment at Mount Carmel. I was fortunate enough to have our friend Dr. Schmarya Levin himself as my guide. Beneath the burning sun we stumbled our way over the building-site, upon which the building stones were lying all about; we crept into all the cellars and clambered into all the rooms that were already accessible. The Jewish proverb says: "Don't show a fool a half-finished house," but I nevertheless venture to give unstinted expression to my satisfaction at what has been accomplished here. It is, indeed, a magnificent work, a handsome indication of what the Jewish movement, which is still so weak and small, will be able to do when once it becomes great and strong. What particularly gratified me was that all petty cheese-paring was avoided here and that things were planned upon a big scale. This palace of science and invention—a noble fabric cast in the noble lines of the Arabic style—will become a landmark of the Near East: and many generations of ambitious young men, let us hope, will here receive the training that will assure them an honorable living.

It was very early the next morning when the swift two-horsed carriage conveyed me from the smart Hotel Herzlia through the narrow streets of Haifa, already buzzing with life and animation, to the railway station. Through the tops of the trees gleamed the beautiful, distant bay in the rays of the morning sun, a blue silken banner ruffled by the gentle wind into a thousand iridescent folds. Beyond, to the north, glistened the white houses of Acco, and far aloft in the north-east, a vision of grandeur and beauty, towered Mount Hermon with the dazzling snow-fields around it. Besides Taormina, I know only two landscapes that deserve the highest prize: Haifa and the Sea of Tiberias.

Our train then rattled along through the Plain of Jezreel. To the right and left palm-groves, and then one field after another, wheat and barley, barley and wheat, but rarely interspersed with the reddish flowers of the poppy-field or a patch of vetches. Here and there we passed a village, mostly consisting of dirty white Arabic structures, stuck together like the rude hives of wasps, above which occasionally there towered the somewhat more stately farm of a Sheikh. But now and again we also catch a glimpse of red-tiled roofs of European dwellings and of modern Arab villages.

Station after station: vendors of oranges, of water, of lemonade, of Arabic sweets and white bread; black veiled women, stately men stalking in turban, fez, or felt cap, desperately neighing donkeys, and foolish but malicious looking camels: the entire Orient beneath the burning sun. And then to the left, high up between the hills, a long sprawling town comes into view: Nazareth. Green fields, in part already yellow, ascend towards a magnificently shaped cone, upon whose highest peak gleams a white building: the little Hermon. The brakes shriek, the train stops: we are in Merchavia. "God's wide place" is the meaning of the name; and it is indeed a wide place of God, an almost infinitely broad and fruitful valley encircled by gently sloping hills, which border it on the east and the west, an expanse full of fruitfulness and beauty, awaiting the skilled hand to fertilize it. If anywhere in Palestine, it is here one feels that this land requires nothing but labor and legal security in order to become again the land in which milk and honey shall flow, the home of hundreds of thousands of free and happy human beings, in which every man can rest under his vine and in the shade of his olive-tree.

II. IN MERCHAVIA

At the station of Aphule we were met by some representatives of the laborers of Merchavia, all new faces. Their greetings are somewhat reserved, for we have yet

to make one another's acquaintance, and they accompany me on the way through the valley from the station to the estate. A hill rises from the plain; a few red-tiled roofs gleam from a stately structure that looks almost like a German castle. It was indeed one, a long time ago, a crusaders' citadel; the deep vaulted storage cellars are still preserved, but they now serve more peaceful purposes than the provisioning of a fortress. After so many variations of fortune, after so many changes of rule under the warriors of three continents, the descendants of the old ploughmen of this land have returned to win it back again forever with the sole means with which land can be won—not the sword, but the plough and the hoe!

A light shower has come down: our feet cling to the clayey soil as we go chatting through the fields. Inquisitive folk come towards us, among them a couple of spruce young women, with their sucklings in their arms. We ascend the hill, which at close view turns out to be a huge heap of dry manure, upon which a few dozen large dirty-white baking-ovens are stuck together, Arabic huts; and the stately tiled roofs rest upon frail and cracked wooden sheds. On the roofs lie a couple of lazy dogs, snugly curled in the sunshine; the street between the huts swarms with children of all ages. Here at least the neo-Malthusian doctrine is not in vogue; here the maxim of Scripture, "Be fruitful and multiply," is still fostered. A couple of laborers, weatherbeaten and bronzed, sinewy figures with the firm bold eye of pioneers on the border of the wilderness, return my greeting steadily. Hardly a single person will have any doubt in my good faith; but it is not quite certain whether I have not come as a "middle-class Utopian," as the tool of some capitalist intrigues concealed even from myself, or at least of some "bourgeois economic" self-delusions. "We shall listen to what you have to say, but we shall be on the alert," is what their searching eyes tell me, "and don't you think that we shall make it easy for you to infect us with your economic heresies." Yes, they are keen theoreticians, these sharp-eyed laborers and watchmen in the head-dress of Bedouins—but fortunately they are also keenly practical, indefatigably hard workers with hoe and axe.

From the manager's shed, which hangs close over the steep side of the hill, one has an uninterrupted view southwards to the hills far, far away, which form the first step to the mountain-range of Judaea. And there, at the first glance, one has an example that shows more clearly than all lectures how grateful this land proves when it receives what is due to it. Mr. Dyk, instructor and farmer, who has raised these men and this soil after nearly two years' superhuman labor and amid almost superhuman privations, from the roughest state, shows me a field with vetches. The western half stands twice as high and thrice as thick as the eastern (and it has actually produced a crop almost three times as large). The entire field was uniformly prepared for cultivation and tilled during the period of growth, but the stable dung sufficed only for one part. It is the same everywhere, in the wheat and barley fields as with the beans. Wherever one restores even a little force to the land that was exploited and robbed thousands of years ago, it rewards one with a manifold harvest. And that inspires us with hope in ultimate success. We still incur a loss upon this large farm laid out "on a green pasture," which must be carried on with inexperienced laborers in a new land, and with methods yet untried here, for it also involves a heavy expenditure (e. g., for the vigilance service and backsheesh) on account of the wildness of the country and the neighbors, aggravated by the recent state

of war, and it is often exposed to serious loss through theft and attacks, whilst all the work must be carried out by highly paid Jewish men, even such as women and children could do. And yet, when once the rotation has taken place, when each piece of land has once received the fertilizing stuff from the stable, the harvest will present a different appearance, and it is hoped that the balance-sheet will also look better. For the present we may reckon that the expenditure will grow less from year to year and the income will increase from year to year. We must only persevere, work and not despair! If we are to succeed in the colossal task of finding for the wandering Jew a new home, a land in which his withered staff can again take root and put forth buds and blossoms, we can succeed only in one way: only where the soil is manured with the sweat of the peasant will the land become nationalized. And only there, where the co-operative association owns the land which it cultivates, is there a guarantee that it is not Arab sweat that manures and wins the land. Everybody knows this who has travelled even perfunctorily through the country. And whoever does not wish that planter's colonies should arise in Galilee too, in which the fellah works almost alone, from which the colonists' children flee to all parts of the world, and in which there is little more that is Jewish than the names on the title-deeds—he must help to carry this first experiment in co-operative colonization beyond the initial difficulties. Or he must give it up! The thing cannot be done except in the way that I pointed out nearly ten years ago, and to which our leading men, partly against their will, have been forced more and more, not by mere theory but by life itself, as to the only practicable method.

But why give it up? It may be difficult—but nothing is impossible! Whoever has beheld with wonderment the renaissance of this race of sorrows, these steel-hearted men, these blooming young women, and even more these vigorous radiant-eyed children, who go romping through the street—he must become an optimist, whether he will or not. And whoever hears with his own ears that the Holy Language, dead these two thousand years, has become alive again as the language of the home, of the street, of the school, and of children's games—he will believe that a withered staff can develop into a fruitful tree.

Eastwards from the ancient Arab village, in which the laborers and colonists must still crowd together, there lies upon another hill beyond a little valley, in imposing grandeur, a veritable delight to the eyes, the estate of Merchavia. It will one day comprise an immense group of buildings, a hundred metres square, with a yard a hectare in area. But for the present the south side is entirely unoccupied, and of the east front more than half, whilst the north and west sides also are not fully erected yet. To the north lies the pride of the estate, the spaciouly planned stable and granary, all but a third complete. It contains accommodations for the team-beasts and for half of the herd of milk-cattle that will be maintained; an annex for the other half is in the course of construction. On the side facing the sun there is a broad path in front of the ground floor opening towards the yard through several Arabic arches; it prevents the southern sun from warming the building itself. The windows look out to the north, so that a healthy temperature will prevail even in the heat of summer. Above the stable, beneath the flat Oriental roof, are hay-lofts: at present they are crammed with laborers' families who could not find any more room on the overcrowded hill. It is high time that the colonists' village, which is being built on the plateau, should be extended another gun-shot further eastwards and that the estate laborers' houses should at last be finished, in order to put an end to

this unsanitary overcrowding of dwelling-rooms. For the present there are only two laborers' houses on the estate, carried out like the stable, after Mr. Baerwald's designs, in Arabic style, but—and this strikes a discordant note in the general scene—with red-tiled roofs! The roofs have been made in this style instead of the flat roofs of the design, "in obedience to necessity," because there is nobody in Palestine at present who knows how to make a flat roof that will not admit the rain.

But what are two laborers' houses in relation to the enormous need? One of these is used by the administration for consulting-rooms, office, and official residence of the head official; in the two dwellings of the other house eighteen persons, at a pinch, can be accommodated (in four rooms and two kitchens); but the estate has always 35, and at harvest-time, like now, about 50 laborers! And some are already married and will require dwellings of their own as soon as possible! The two little houses will bear on a memorial tablet the name of M. Halperin, who has presented them to the Jewish National Fund; who will present the National Fund with an unmarried laborers' home for its first settlement farm at Merchavia? Mr. Baerwald's plans are ready, with clock-tower, water-works, bath house, meeting hall, etc., the whole to cost about \$6,000. Volunteers to the front! The brave fellows who, down there, on the frontiers of civilization, look their enemies daily in the eye—malaria and the guns of the Arabs—who are laying the foundations of the new nationality of which you dream with their sweat and blood, have certainly a right that you should provide them with a home worthy of human beings.

We ourselves cannot do it for the present. The means are limited, and the "Finance Minister" is as close-fisted as it is his duty to be. We are in the same position as the trooper: first comes the horse and then comes the man! Our cattle have received exemplary attention; the money for the second cow-shed and granary, as well as for the poultry-run, has been granted. But only two more double-dwellings have been allowed: we must make shift with that for the present. And whoever pays a visit to the Plain of Jezreel next spring will find the north, east, and west sides of the proud estate fairly completed, the threefold stable and granary in the north, the shed and workshops in the west, the poultry-run and four laborers' cottages in the east: but the south side will still be missing, and only imagination, the cheapest architect in the world, will be able to show the finished buildings which will some day, I hope, stand here, the unmarried laborers' home and the management offices—unless some benefactor should arise who has the noble ambition to identify his name with this pioneer work for ever. Until then the estate is open, and it would be so good if it were a closed citadel!

Let us enter the stable! On the left, the west side, stand the horses and mules; in the same building are the room of the stable-manager and the harness-room, which is very practically fitted up and as neat and orderly as in a garrison. Then follows the cowshed with the dairy, where the refrigerator, churn, and other appurtenances are kept. Fragrant milk, yellow butter, delicious cream, are all under cover. This is unfortunately necessary as there is an Egyptian plague of flies here. What else can you expect when one lives on a dung-hill? And yet it must be possible to check to a certain extent these

*Two more houses have since been voted by the Jewish National Fund and will soon be built.

troublesome vermin, which can even prove dangerous by communicating disease-germs. In Tel-Aviv, even in the shop of the Co-operative Stores, the vermin have been suppressed.

The cowshed is empty, the animals are grazing. But they are just coming home, the heavy-gaited beasts, to drink and to indulge in their midday rest. The main stock consists of the silken-smooth, medium-sized Beirut kine, but at their side trot the little creatures of native Arab race, hardly bigger than a European calf, and, forming a very comical contrast, a pair of the huge Damascus cows, as large as elks, with slim stag-like heads, a contrast corresponding to that between a spaniel and a Newfoundland. Yes, in this respect too, we are still in the stage of first experiments, and it will take time before we have bred the race that, in this climate and with this fodder, will afford the greatest service.

Let us cast another glance at the excellently fitted-up workshops, which are located on the west side, the joinery and smithy which carry out all wood and metal works, from cart-poles to window-frames, from the repair of a blade on the reaping machine to the huge iron gate that will one day close the farm-yard. And now to the fields! Already "the stallion dances on the crunching sand", and the sleek-necked mare upon which I am mounted indignantly wards off with its hind-hoofs the blunt advance of an equine courtier.

For agriculture, to copy Montecuculi, three things are necessary: dung, dung and dung! Where the produce is based upon stable-dung we nowadays already have, to my surprise, in the second farming-year, scenes from medium-sized German farms; where it is lacking, one sees scanty harvests. To be sure, the soil is free from weeds, and the corn is still incomparably better than on most of the Arab fields of the neighborhood but with such produce one naturally cannot expect any profit yet. Nevertheless, what has been accomplished is the humanly possible. When Mr. Dyk arrived here two years ago he found only a single laborer on the land who was prepared to co-operate in the experiment, to such a degree had the laborers been driven to exasperation by theories, despite all the promises made to me two years before. Fortunately he sent for three of his Galician pupils, who came. He found no stores, no accommodation for the indispensable cattle, not to speak of the cattle itself. All this had first to be got together. Even now we have little more than a half of the necessary stock of cattle, and a year at least will elapse before we have developed the full quota from the young that we are rearing, and are able to produce the necessary dung. In short, we have not even by half a normal farming year behind us; and hardly one before us. Many unforeseen accidents befell us: that attack prompted by blood revenge, which damaged us so severely and pre-occupied us so long; and then the intolerable postponement of the building, because Jewish laborers were not to be found for any money for a long time. And yet the large tract has been almost thoroughly cleared of weeds, and the fields are yielding whatever one can expect from unmanured soil.

If everything that then at the beginning of April stood in the fields had come into the barns, and if the summer-fruit, the cultivation of which was then begun, had developed even half satisfactorily, this year would have already closed with a slight profit. But shortly before the harvest the field was attacked by the mice-plague; the neighboring Arabs suffered terribly, but on our estate the greatest part was saved by the most effective labor known to agricultural science, the labor of Co-operative Settlement, whilst the damage that resulted will be compensated to a considerable extent by the big rise in the price of corn. But a loss remains, and as the summer was not favored by the weather our second balance-sheet will also close with a deficit. But there are two important items that we do



BUILDINGS IN MERCHAVIA

not include among the assets: the training that our co-operative laborers have acquired, and the improvement of the soil, the deepening of the mould and its enrichment in the parts that have been treated with dung.

We ride up the hill slowly in a northerly direction: upon the stony slope our people are cultivating an orange and almond plantation. In the muffled monotony the huge, heavy hoes descend, pierce into the crumbling rock-soil, and are swung again upwards and backwards for a fresh assault. Truly this is harder work for the conquest of the Holy Land than to pay one's shekel once a year and to make the air quake in a couple of meetings. But whoever can stand it becomes tough and strong. Of the Ghetto type, there is no more trace in these bronzed fellows, who lean for a moment on their tools to answer the inquiries of the administrator.

We continue our ride along the declivity upon a stony path, upon which the sagacious horses tread carefully as between eggs. In front of us, on the left, there emerges a round summit, apparently basalt, above the hills, crowned by a monastery—the Tabor. Straight in front is an Arabic village, Solem. Here, nearly three thousand years ago, bloomed the Sulamith, from whose lips the Hebrew poet drew the most passionate love-song known to the literature of the whole world.

We now direct our nags to the right downhill, over the rubble and boulders, between tall grass and rank thistles. There in the Wadi, the bed of the rivulet through which the winter torrents seek an outlet to the Kishon, a pool is still left, where a Bedouin waters his sheep. His camp, three or four black tents, is pitched upon a small plateau; the fire is smoking on the hearth around which his wives are crouching. Half-naked, wild-eyed children, with bald-cropped pates, stare at us, and shaggy curs come yelping at our horses' legs.

And now a smart gallop across the southern fields on both sides of the Haifa-Tiberias railway, and farther still on the new Merchavia-Jerusalem line, which is as yet a torso. Down below, at a great distance from the estate, the Co-operative Settlement has another field of 500 dunam (about 125 acres), covered with a fine crop of wheat. Unfortunately, soon after my departure, a neighboring Pasha who felt insulted for some reason or other ordered his tenants from two villages to trample and ride about on the corn in swarms and caused us serious damage. The worst of it was that one of our best men, a newly-married watchman, lost his life in the affray. Frontier life and borderers' lot! It is a remarkable land. On the sea-shore, capitalism in its first blossom, with bank branches, bill and check transactions, and daily newspapers in all European languages; yet in the country itself, feudalism in its heyday: robber captains who came from Kurdistan with their retinue of bravos and outlawed criminals, who subjugated villages and forced them to pay tribute, who terrorized officials or bribed them with backsheesh and their beautiful daughters whom they gave them in marriage, and to-day inhabit their "castles" as landlords and pashas, and sell the fine land for glittering gold to European immigrants. The inhabitants of the country, so far as they are free owners, still live in a primaeval age with blood-revenge and all the romance and the "heroism" of this stage of civilization, which boasts before olive-brown maidens of cattle-thefts, escapades, and attacks; and brooding over the timelessness, the beginning of things, as it was thousands of years before Hammurabi and Abraham, the nomad with his flocks and the same black tents as described in the Holy Writ!

With a certain relief I turn the mare's head towards the old village hill near by, which greets us with its red-tiled roofs. The fields are better than I expected. But how will the men be? For more depends upon the co-operative spirit of the laborers than upon all the science of agriculture.

III. AMONG THE LABORERS.

In the largest building of the old village, the former dwelling of the Sheikh, I am entertained at a dinner by all laborers of Merchavia, the "free group," who are cultivating the fields of the future colonists, and by the members of the Co-operative Settlement. The wooden tables are arranged in horse-shoe fashion, and upon the benches sit closely pressed together the men, women and the older children. The steam of the dishes ascends to the smoke-blackened arches of the spacious chamber. It was a real banquet: first beetroot-soup, then roast goose with salad and stewed fruit, and the sweet wine of Palestine that was drunk mostly out of enamel cups.

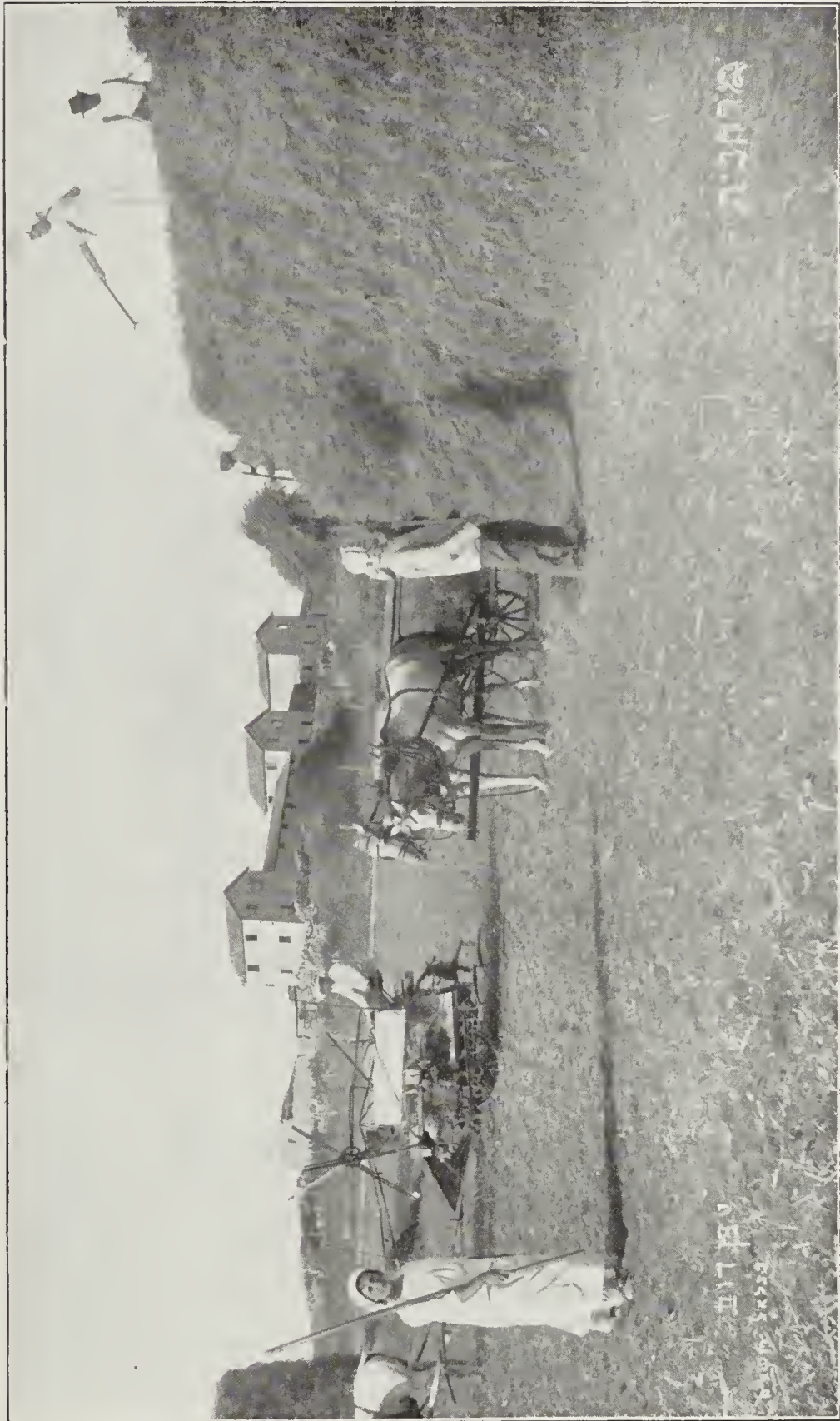
On the evening of the same day there was a general meeting of the laborers in the same room. First I spoke, next Mr. Dyk, and then began an animated discussion of the two questions of wages and the employment of Arabs, that is, the questions of Communism and Nationalism. As for the first question the free laborers are in favor of communist division, that is, an equal wage for all at present, irrespective of the capacity of each laborer. I am known as a decided opponent of this system of remuneration. The essential difference between the co-operative and the communist settlements consists in the fact that the former graduate the wages as much as possible according to the work done, whereas the latter give all their members an equal wage. The reason of this communist practice is obvious: all urban thinkers from Plato to Marx and Kautsky have been forced by the fear of "free competition" to their communist views. It seems to be the power of a curse which causes the enormous inequality of classes, disintegrates society, and destroys nations. I do not share this fear of free competition. I have succeeded in refuting it scientifically. I have been able to show that there are two quite different kinds of competition, according to the social and economic conditions under which the contracting parties meet in the market. Where access to the land is free, that is, where the land is not locked up in class monopoly, peaceful competition prevails, a form of competition that provides a corresponding reward for every superior gift of body, mind and character, but which nevertheless precludes any trace of "surplus value," so that variations of income can never lead to serious, class-forming differences. But where the land is locked up and where, as a result, propertyless "free laborers" are compelled to offer themselves to the owners of the means of production for a wage that leaves their employer a surplus value, there we meet with hostile competition, and those fatal, class-forming differences of income and property which should be prevented, develop very rapidly.

I could explain very little of these difficult theoretical matters to the laborers, who understood my German rather badly, but I was able to show them the absurdity of their principle by means of some practical examples. They recognize the differences of capacity among themselves well enough and can understand that such an excellent laborer, for example, as their foreman, Betzer, who, as a married man and father of two charming children, is content with 55 francs a month, although his qualifications entitle him to

double that amount, must earn more than a young laborer freshly imported from Europe, who, with all his enthusiasm, does more harm than good. They furthermore see themselves that the principle cannot be carried out without leading to the purest absurdity. For example, a dear little boy named Friedmann, the descendant of a famous family of Rabbis in Galicia, has joined the colony. Is this child to receive the same wage as the adults? As a matter of fact, they let the principle remain a principle, provide him with board and lodging at the common expense, and give him a little pocket-money. On the whole, I think that the opposition on this point is no longer as strong as it was at first. The laborers understand that, as human beings are, the highest production in the long run is to be expected not from the enthusiasm of idealists but from the well-justified egoism of men who know that their industry and their care brings them an immediate reward; and they see that the success of the whole depends upon each individual member accomplishing his best throughout. At any rate it seems to me that a certain benevolent neutrality is now observed towards the workmen of the Co-operative Settlement, who fully grasp the principle of unequal remuneration according to production and have accepted it unconditionally, out of conviction, not as the result of any pressure exercised upon them.

But the opposition is much stronger in regard to the question of Arab labor. Almost the entire body of laborers steadfastly adheres to the principle that such work cannot be tolerated under any circumstances, although the rigidity of the principle has been broken through recently through a single concession. Here too the reason of their view is quite clear: the laborers fear a development such as has taken place in the planters' colonies of Judaea, where, unfortunately, Arab labor has displaced Jewish labor to a very large extent. Had it not been for the immigration of the Yemenites, who provide the planters with an element equivalent to the Arabs as regards modesty of demands and capacity of production, things would be even worse than they already are and we could straight-way put down the Jewish colonies created in the south at such enormous cost to our national loss account. That the laborers on national grounds and on the grounds of thoroughly justified trade-union self-interest are trying to prevent such a development is a matter of which I should be the last to reproach them.

But I had to tell them that the principle here too ought not to be carried to extremes. There is an economic law, the working out of which we owe mainly to the great American thinkers, Carey and Friedrich List: the law of land capacity. It states clearly and precisely that the more people settle together upon a given area the higher is the average comfort and the average culture of a country. All the smaller too for the husbandman is the area for cultivation that he needs; all the greater will the net produce be that he will secure out of this small area. For in every progressive country the yield of the land in produce grows from natural causes faster than the population because the cultivation is conducted with better methods and better implements; and this higher net produce, from the same causes, brings still higher prices, expressed in manufactured articles. We must learn to comprehend this law. The Jews must understand and must also try to make the Arabs understand that the more Jews dwell in the land the larger the number of Arabs who can live in it and the higher the degree of comfort and culture that they will enjoy; that it is not a question of their being displaced but only of their moving a little closer together, to their own advantage, in order to make room for those through whose social co-



THE SETTLEMENT IN MERCHAVIA

operation they will themselves reap the greatest benefits. Despite all these proofs and arguments it was impossible for the present to convert the laborers of Merchavia, even the co-operative group, to another point of view in the labor question. But I nevertheless succeeded in achieving a "tolerari posse" in a practical question which is not without a humorous side—the question of the shepherd.

This is a calling in which one must have grown up and whose secrets cannot be learned quickly enough even with the greatest enthusiasm, to protect the sheep and their owner from severe damage. Even among the children of the peasants, there are only a few geniuses found who are capable of this task. An idealist among our laborers offered himself for the post; but after a few months, in a condition of no slight mental depression, he had to decide to recommend an Arabic successor, who discharges his duties to-day amid the silent toleration of the workmen.

The very same questions, after the general meeting, were also discussed at the meeting of the group of laborers who were already members of the Co-operative Settlement. I may mention that this Settlement employs at present about 50 laborers, of whom about 35 will have permanent occupation. From this number the Settlement had just admitted 17 at the time of my visit. They attach the greatest importance to forming an élite and accept as members only those who, by virtue of their technical capacity and strength of character, are worthy of the honor of co-operating as pioneers in the work, of the significance of which for the nation—and perhaps the nations—they are fortunately now fully conscious. These 17 members, sixteen men and a girl who is occupied mainly in the dairy, assembled after the general meeting in the manager's office to discuss the matter in a smaller and more intimate circle. Among these I soon succeeded in getting my view of the wage question accepted. As for the question of the Arabs we are, as I must repeatedly point out, in agreement on the main principle, that in Merchavia, in the long run, all the work shall be carried out by Jewish hands for which Jewish labor of corresponding quality is available. Nothing further was to be gained for the present.

The work-people handed me a report, which I herewith publish with their express approval. It is as follows:

"It is not easy to inform those interested in Dr. Oppenheimer's Co-operative Settlement idea whether the experiment in Merchavia will attain an early success. Many and various obstacles stood in the way of this magnificent project at the beginning. One of the most important was that the idea of an Oppenheimer Co-operative Settlement was not popular in Palestine. Another thing was that at the time when the experiment was about to be taken in hand the form of labor groups was vigorously propagated in the country, and a few such groups had already been at work. The laborers of Palestine perceived in the system of groups the sole possibility of furthering colonization by the Jewish proletariat. They assumed that through the feeling of responsibility which would be aroused in them by entrusting a national possession to their own management, the self-interest of the laborer would be more strengthened than by the undertakings in which an administrator had to bear the responsibility. A further—psychological—reason was, they wished to be freed from the pressure of the administrator.

"When Mr. Dyk arrived in Palestine as leader of the Co-operative Settlement and undertook its practical realization he found no response or sympathy

for the Oppenheimer idea owing to its unpopularity and owing to the tendency for the formation of groups. Moreover, the laborers combatted the principle of remuneration according to production, as contained in the co-operative scheme, and feared that if the management were placed into the hands of a leader they would be hampered in their freedom of will as in all administered undertakings, which must destroy all co-operation at the very outset.

“We here know now that the laborers thought and acted wrongly. In the first place they over-rated their own ability, as they lack technical and organizing qualifications. Secondly, they had a wrong notion about the method of management in the Oppenheimer Co-operative Settlement. But the most serious error made by the laborers was in overlooking the significance of a possible failure, as this would not only involve the fate of an important question of Palestinian colonization and but also inflict an immeasurable loss upon upward-striving humanity.

“Thus Mr. Dyk found no laborers. He began the undertaking and accepted every workman who offered himself to carry out the initial preparations. (It may be remarked in parenthesis that Mr. Dyk was assisted only by his three pupils and a Palestinian laborer.) The laborers who accepted employment on the estate of the Co-operative Settlement did so for the following reasons: first, mostly on account of the remuneration; secondly, as a matter of accident; and thirdly, many people said, ‘Perhaps something will turn out of it that can make me enthusiastic for the thing.’

“In the course of the first farming year a number of the laborers became convinced adherents of the scheme, and when Mr. Dyk chose the first ten members these were already conscious of the important task and co-opted only those whom they credited with a marked interest in the Settlement idea and in whom they foresaw faithful fellow-workers and comrades. Up to the present day we have increased to 16 members, who intend with all our strength to realize the idea of the Co-operative Settlement. Our aim is to co-opt all other members from the unattached laborers of the Settlement, but we must take care that people do not come in who want and are striving for something else.

“As regards the internal organization we see from the method by which Mr. Dyk is working that he does not come with ready made statutes, but lets life itself shape our programme, the most suitable system of our inner development. Mr. Dyk has placed the training in the co-operative spirit upon a proper basis by giving us the right to share in the administration, and we wish to set our opinion on record that Mr. Dyk is a leader who understands his work well and knows how to carry it out in practical life. For the future, we wish that Mr. Dyk should extend our share in the management.

“As for ourselves, it is necessary that every one of our comrades should understand that he has to subordinate his individual foibles, his personal idiosyncrasies, to the furtherance of the cause, for the benefit of a newly developing community united by happiness and harmony. We understand that we need leadership, but we should like to express the wish that Mr. Dyk should be an educator rather than an administrator. We are therefore in favor of Palestine

laborers being represented on the Council of the Settlement, but they must have no right to influence our inner organization in any way: they shall only have the rights and duties of all other members of the Council.

“A question that is seriously occupying us is the wage question. We members of the Co-operative Settlement are of opinion that the difference of wage is justified not only by the specific conditions of our problem but also by practice itself. We shall always be in favor of work receiving its due reward. Although we think that the wage is at present too high because the farm does not yield a profit, we also realize that in practice it cannot be otherwise. As for the minimum wage we should like Dr. Oppenheimer to explain how this should be fixed for Jewish laborers in Palestine.

“As regards the Arab question we members of the Co-operative Settlement are of opinion that within the Settlement only such things should be done as can be carried out by Jews. We are opposed to Arab laborers being employed at all among us: we are opposed to this even on economic grounds, as Mr. Dyk asserts, because among us remuneration is given according to work done. Among many of us this standpoint is purely a matter of sentiment, and the opponents of this standpoint must reckon with it and not hurt our feelings.

“In conclusion we beg Dr. Oppenheimer to have his work ‘Die Siedlungsgenossenschaft’ (The Co-Operative Settlement) translated into Hebrew.”

Then follow all the signatures.

IV. FRONTIER LIFE—IN KINERETH

The evening gave us a characteristic Palestinian sensation. After the members of the Settlement left us Mr. Dyk and I sat on the landing of his wooden shed and talked over the events of the day. I was already in my pajamas, with light straw shoes on my bare feet, and was cooling my over-heated body in the delicious night-air that was wafted from the sea far below. Suddenly a shot rang out from the farmyard across. And ere I knew what had happened, Mr. Dyk, with the resolute movements of a man who is used to such things and does not wonder at any thing, tore the Mauser from the wall, thrust a Browning into his belt and a couple of loaded magazines into his pocket, and dashed out into the ink-black night. On the way he fired a couple of shots into the air, and from all the huts our men rushed out, scantily clad, with all sorts of weapons in their hands, women with crying children on their arms behind them, inquisitive and excited, but so far as I could see, not in the least frightened. And the armed band dashed away before my mind, accustomed to European police conditions, had even grasped what was the matter.

It was impossible for me to follow them, for by the time I had dressed there was nothing more to hear of the whole commotion than the distant barking of some dogs somewhere far away in the fields. I did not know in what direction I should turn, and so I had no alternative but to wait in some excitement and to reflect how different is the life on the border of barbarism thousands of years old, from our life as civilized beings protected by the strong arm of the police; and also to imagine what a face many of our fellow-Zionists would make in my situation, who do not hesitate to make all sorts of demands from our pioneers down there, without even becoming clear about their

situation in these wild climes; and finally to think with a smile of Herr Houston Stewart Chamberlain, Herr Von Graefe, and their noble comrades, and their firm conviction that every Jew from the beginning of all time must be an arrant coward.

If my conviction, based upon general sociological considerations, that it is the social economic milieu that forms the human character, has found confirmation, it was here. Mr. Dyk, in Europe, had not the least heroic disposition, and apparently also not the least inclination to heroism with the fist and the sword, and the same applies to the great majority of our laborers: but in such circumstances one becomes a "hero," whether one wills it or not, just as our people there all become horsemen, and, in many cases, first-class horsemen.

Such accomplishments win for the Jewish settler—the psychology of the Arab being such as it is—more respect and honor than the highest records in wheat-growing and in the milk-produce of the stables. And as I am relating episodes, I should like to tell another story of one of our colonists there, from which it can be clearly seen how easily legends are formed in such primitive conditions. A member of the Union of Watchmen, a Palestinian colonist's son, named Igael, has for some time worn the nimbus of a hero. He has cost us rather dearly, the handsome fellow, who is always on the spot whenever a piece of new land in an unfriendly neighborhood has to be reclaimed for a Jewish settlement. He is now in Karkur, in the plain between Haifa and Jaffa that lies before the mountains, where a small, picked band of watchmen and workmen with two girls are together cultivating a very large area as well as they can, to avoid the right of reversion being enforced, and are protecting it at the same time from the neighboring bears greedy for honey. He was formerly in Merchavia also as a watchman, and was reputed even among the Arabs of the vicinity to be the best horseman and shot in the land. A fellow from a neighboring village, who wanted to win glory in the eyes of his brown sweetheart and his still browner comrades, ventured to pick a quarrel with him. One day, when Igael tied his horse in the post-station at Aphule, the fellow came slinking along, loosened the horse, threw himself upon it, and galloped away. Igael unharnessed the first best farm-horse from a cart and gave chase. Thanks to his superior horsemanship, he actually succeeded after a chase of many hours, in overtaking the thief, who was on a much better animal: and the ambitious youth, instead of coming back to his village with the horse of the redoubtable watchman, came back with a thrashing that lasted him several weeks. But revenge is sweet, and a few nights later, Igael was attacked by a band and even shot at. He misunderstood the affair, returned the shots, killed the son of the village Sheikh, and, what was worse, a mare too. Thereupon followed that assault upon our estates in which our people held out until the police summoned from Nazareth let the plunderers enter. The two shots cost us in destroyed and stolen material, and in blood-money for the man and horse, over 30,000 francs.

About this Igael, whom the Arabs call Ibrahim, a follower of one of the greatest robber-sheikhs related to one of our interpreters the following legend, in which he apparently believes as firmly as in the Koran: "Our Sheikh is an excellent shot; he always hits the mark. But that is nothing to Ibrahim: when somebody shoots at him, Ibrahim can swiftly point his gun and hit the hostile bullet in the air. Nay, he can even load first."

It was with such thoughts and reflections that I sat on the landing, a little uneasy and a little ashamed that I was thus forced to keep at a distance from the shooting, whilst Heaven knows what Homeric battles were being fought down there in the night. But

fortunately it was not so bad. After about an hour and a half, Mr. Dyk came back and reported that a neighbor had given a warning signal, less out of friendship for us than to spite the leader of the plundering exhibition, that an attempt was being made to steal timber from the yard, which is very much sought after in treeless Palestine. Our sentries had heard the noise and given the alarm, the thieves fled and most likely hid themselves in the high standing wheat fields. In any case they were not caught; but nobody was hurt.*

Gradually the lights in the huts went out, the buzzing voices of the gossiping women grew still, and we too sought our rest beneath the mosquito-net.

I slept right on until broad daylight, but our Mr. Dyk was doomed that night to enjoy very scanty sleep. He was scarcely an hour in dreamland when he was awakened by a messenger. The party of German Zionist students who were then touring through Palestine, now lay somewhere or other on the railway-line, an hour and a half's distance from us, quite exhausted and half starved: they begged for food and a guide. A few hours later they arrived and were accommodated with the shake-downs prepared for them.

In the afternoon, after being joined by Dr. Schmarya Levin and some tourists, we journeyed through the wild gorges of the Yarmuk to the Sea of Tiberias. It lies wonderous blue between the hills with the snow-capped Hermon still glistening across like a vision from another world. But the surface of the lake is now churned into foaming white not only by the primitive heavy oars of the boatmen but also by the wheels of the steamers. We could not use the large Government steamer which goes from the railway-station direct to Tiberias, but took a small, not very reliable-looking motor-boat, which brought us safely to the shore of Kinereth. Some brawny fellows carried us and our trunks on their backs through the shallow water, and we ascended the monumental staircase which now leads to the estate of Kinereth, where but three years ago we had still to clamber up steep and slippery paths.

Here much has changed. North of the Jordan the red-tiled roofs of Kinereth look very imposing, and southward, over stream and sea, the red roofs of Daganiah. Kinereth is wholly the creation of a brief space of time, magnificently built with the elegant administrative building, adorned with balconies, which now serves the Co-operative Settlement and particularly the school of female gardeners. And when one crosses the lake in a boat one sees other traces too, here and there, of the rich colonizing activity unfolded here by the Jewish Renaissance. On the left, high above the hills, there is a reddish cluster: a Jewish village,—Jemma, I think;—and particularly impressive, enthroned upon the highest hill on the western shore, are the citadel-like houses of Poreah, a creation of the American "Hoachoozo" movement, which tell of the life on the ancient soil.

The steep southern shore of the Jordan and the gentle sloop above, which ascends to the hill-summit, was still a waste of thorns and weeds three years ago: to day it is covered with neatly-kept, blossoming orchards, and the slope waves golden-yellow wheat and barley. Truly, an elevating sight!

Upon this landscape rests one of our fairest hopes: here, in truth, there can de-

*Police have since been introduced into the country, and it is hoped that they will find the thieves in the corn-fields.

velop in all its fulness—and perhaps soon—“national” life in the best sense of the word, that is, a life, happy and proud, which unfolds according to its own laws but gladly allows everybody his own right, and which strives to attain the first place not through presumption and oppression, but by the examples of discipline, industry, culture, and human kindness.

Already a vigorous communal life has developed here, where Daganiah, the estate of Kinereth, and the trim village of Kinereth lie close to one another on the lake, fortified and protected in the rear by the villages of the hill-side.

The sun sank behind the western hills, and the stars came forth and sparkled in the pitch-black firmament in unexampled magnificence. Long did we sit on the sea verandah in conversation with Dr. Levin, a conversation of serious content but in the gayest mood, strewn with profound ideas and a thousand quips and anecdotes. It was late when we sought our couch, and the soft chamber-music of this unique landscape, where the sea beats time with the plashing wavelets to the full-sounding orchestra of innumerable crickets in the heavy perfume-laden grass slopes all around, soon lulled us into sweet slumber.

V. ON THE SEA OF TIBERIAS

Beautiful is the Sea of Tiberias, the “Harp”, in the spring, when upon all the hill-slopes around a perfume ascends from the wild flowers sucked by amorous bees, when light clouds slowly sail across the blue sky and are reflected in the blue-green surface, when from the north the dazzling snowfields of the mighty Hermon gleam across.

It is still fermenting in the witches’ cauldron of the Near East—foaming, seething, roaring, and hissing, and all the prophets have already been put to shame. Nobody knows how it will all end, which of the mutilated combatants will finally emerge as victor from the strife. And so I shall take good care not to join the prophets. But still, if there is any reason at all in the world, be it only the logic of things, it is impossible for this corner, Palestine, the junction of the huge Transcontinental railways, nearly completed, which will connect the Cape of Good Hope with the North Cape, Lisbon with India, to remain any longer the home of primaevial savagery. Europe has advanced near to it from the south, for Egypt is now, thanks to the British administration, a European land; and it will also soon advance near to it from the north; for the flames of this mighty war must remelt the Balkan Peninsula: victors and vanquished can hope to exist only if they open their gates wide to European civilization. And then the same geographical position that once in the age of warlike contact between nations, made the great isthmus of Palestine the battle-field of the great Powers and decided the fate of the people for the worse, must, in the age of peaceful contact between the nations, make the little land the central mart of the industrial great powers and decide the fate of its inhabitants for the better. And then at last the Tiberias Sea will become what nature itself had destined it to be; the great winter-resort, the great international playground of the world.

Aquatic sports of every kind, from swimming and rowing to sailing and motor-boat regattas, angling, riding upon horses as gentle as lambs and fleet as falcons, hunting, after the rarest game only a few hours inland in the steppes: antelopes, foxes, panthers, herons!—and athletics of every sort, tennis, hockey, cricket and golf. At the north end of the Sea, not far from Migdal, are mountainous heights, which will suffice for the boldest and keenest climber; one is still shown there, the inaccessible caves of the robbers, to

which the Roman land-gendarmes had to let themselves down in baskets from the top of the mountain. And finally, when the road to the north will be built some day one will be able, by motoring in an hour or two to the slopes of Hermon, to enjoy the finest snowshoe racing. Where in the whole world can such a combination be found, and that, too, close to the international traveling-route of the Briton to India? Nothing is wanted to change this dream into a reality for us and to divert streams of tourist-gold into this earthly paradise but peace, quiet, and the order of an administration modelled upon a European system. If the backsheesh and Pasha régime is once broken as in Europe, international capital will stream in, Haifa and perhaps Jaffa too will become harbors in which one can land even in a storm, and then the romance of the robber and the blood-avenger, of the sheep-thief and horse-stealer will gradually vanish. A Palestinian Bret Harte will perhaps regret it, but not I. For adventure-loving souls there are still enough primitive lands on this planet: there they can have adventures to their heart's content. But before its own threshold, Europe wants order!

There is much that I could still relate without ever coming to an end. For scene after scene, indelibly impressed upon the sensitive plate of my memory, is conjured up before me: scenes of a land, beautiful and rich above many others, indestructible despite thousands of years of plundering, charged with memories of the greatest historic significance, pregnant with hopes and possibilities—and scenes of a newly rising nationality, forcing itself through stubbornly and vigorously, which, like a strong tree, takes root ever wider and deeper, and whose trunk assumes an ever firmer frame, the wilder the storms tear at its branches.

Unforgettable to us all who took part in it, will the farewell gathering remain. We all sat down to a joint repast in the open shed on the village-hill! Representatives of the laborers spoke simply, deeply moved and moving others; in all their words one heard a deep, strong, rushing undercurrent, the resolute will to accomplish the work in which they believe, which they wish to serve, not for themselves, but for their people and for humanity, to win their happiness and blessing in freedom and fraternity. And then spoke Kaplansky, the leader of the Poale-Zion, and his voice too vibrated as he pointed northwards and upwards, at the white green-dappled houses of Nazareth: "For two thousand years, millions have believed that the salvation of the world will come from there: must not our hearts beat faster when we think that the prophecy will become true in another sense, that the salvation will come from the Plain of Jezreel?" Such was the drift of his words, and the laborers understood him well. As we parted from one another, there was a solemn and mutual vow to persevere despite all inner and outer obstacles, right unto the happy end.

Then came a three days' carriage drive from Haifa to Jaffa in the chamsin, the hot desert wind. A former soldier of the Foreign Legion is our guide, a man of fifty with unusually broad shoulders for a Jew, a born Palestinian from Sammarin. He understands his business and knows the land, this old fighter of the Kabyles, whom fate has tossed about the world only to set him down again after all in his own home. It is pleasant gossiping with this globe-trotter who has been washed by all the seas.

Athlit, experimental farm. Mr. Beermann and his wife received us very hospitably, and then showed us the experiment fields, where experiments are being conducted in crossing the wild wheat discovered by Mr. Aronsohn with all possible European kinds of wheat, in order to find out the best varieties that yield the richest crops even when the soil has

little moisture. Everything is still in the initial stage: it will take some time before field experiments can be begun. But what interests me above all is dry farming.

In North America, as is well known, there is an enormous area that belongs to the steppe and semi-steppe regions of the world, but the Americans are by no means inclined to submit to such a condition of nature. They have brought to bear upon the pure steppe, the utterly rainless region, the most magnificent irrigation works the world has ever seen; they have captured every spring and vein in the mountains, united them into canals and conducted them hundreds of miles distant to the plains, which only require the vivifying moisture to yield endless produce, and they have done this with such success that the Rio Grande del Norte, from which all this water has been withdrawn, is no longer navigable over a great stretch. New colonizing land is to be created here for eighty million new American citizens, say the enthusiasts. And even if enough is secured for half that number: are there still impossibilities where there is an organized will!

But in the semi-steppe districts, where, as in Palestine, sufficient water falls in the rain periods to nourish the plants, they are engaged in developing an agricultural system which will defy the nature of the steppe: they retain the water that has penetrated into the subsoil by preventing its evaporation. This is dry farming. Aronsohn has studied it in the West of the United States and has transferred it to Palestine. By this process, it should be possible to store up the greatest proportion of the rain-fall in the soil; and its American propagators even maintain that by its application manuring can be dispensed with entirely or at least for the most part. They maintain that they have refuted by their experiments the view of the power of the soil as it has existed since Justus von Liebig. The soil is not a dead reservoir of vegetable nutriment to which one must restore without diminution what one withdraws from the vegetable body, but a living laboratory, which under the influence of light, air and water, produces ever new vegetable nutriment from inorganic dead mineral substance.

These things are too new to permit of an entire farming system being based upon them. Discoverers of new methods are always enthusiasts, and one has, as a rule, to make a good discount from their estimates. But what I saw was indeed very encouraging: two experiment fields, each a hectare in area, one planted with wheat and the other with barley, both unmanured and with a yield which I estimated at 3000—3500 kilogram per hectare: crops that are not always found even in the better European farms on richly manured soil. If it should prove in the long run that dry farming has approximately the merits credited to it, the opening up of the land would be possible with considerable less means and risks.

A night in Zichron Jacob, another in Chedera, the plantation colonies, with a visit in between at Karkur, where a bold group of young men act as frontier guards, brief stops in Arabian Khans where scraggy hens are scrapping the dung-hill, mangy dogs are slinking, and millions of flies are humming; a long, hot and exhausting drive in the carriage, in front of which the weary horses are trotting upon incredible roads. And at last, on the third evening, the broad river, the only continuously flowing river of the plain near the coast which falls into the sea north of Jaffa, the bridge and the orange groves in the sweet, heavy perfume of their countless blossoms.

Another short visit to Petach Tikvah to see the Yemenite houses, and the sinking sun shows us the blue sea near Jaffa, the towers and the orange groves. To-morrow the Schleswig sails north; but I shall come back again.

